1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 143

HANDBOOK
OF
SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 1
THE MARGINAL TRIBES

Prepared in Cooperation With the United States Department of State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1946

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.
Price $2.75

[Title Page]

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

THE CAINGANG

By Alfred Métraux

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

101 131 The name *Caingang* (map 1, *No. 10*) was introduced in 1882 by Telemaco Morocines Borba to designate the non-*Guaraní* Indians of the States of São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul, who previously were known as *Guayaná*, *Coroado*, *Bugre*, *Shokleng*, *Tupí*, *Botocudo*, etc., but who are all linguistically and culturally related to one another and form the southern branch of the *Ge* family (long. 50° W. between lat. 20° to 30° S.).

101 619 **Guayaná.**—These Indians appear for the first time in the literature under the name of *Guayaná* (*Goyaná*, *Goaiazás*, *Guayná*, *Wayannas*, etc.). Staden (1925, part 2, chap. 3) mentions them in the Capitania of São Vicente. Early documents assign to them the plains of Piratininga and the region where São Paulo was founded. According to Soares de Souza (1851, pp. 99–100) they were the masters of the entire coast of the present State of São Paulo, from Angra dos Reis to Cananéia. Actually, they shared the seashore with the *Guaraní*-speaking *Tupinikin*. The Portuguese chronicler describes them as noncannibalistic people with softer dispositions than the *Tupinamba*, living in the open country, and shunning the forest where they were worsted by their *Tupinamba* neighbors. Tebyreçá, who played such an important part in the early history of São Paulo, was a *Guayaná* chief. The settlement of Pinheiros, near old São Paulo, was formed by Indians of that tribe. Since the toponymy of this region is *Guaraní*, some authors consider the *Guayaná* a *Tupí-Guaraní* tribe. Though it is possible that the *Guayaná* of Piratininga spoke *Tupí*, there is little doubt that the majority of *Guayaná* belonged to a different family and were the ancestors of the modern *Caingang*. In the last century the name *Guayaná* was still applied in the State of São Paulo to a group of 200 *Caingang* who were settled in 1843 near Itapeva (Saint-Hilaire, 1830–51, 2:439–461; Machado de Oliveira, 1846, pp. 248–254).

The chronicler Rui Díaz de Guzmán (1914, p. 14) speaks of *Guayaná*, *Pattes* (*Basas?*), *Chouas*, and *Chouacas*, who spoke related languages and had their habitat on the Piquirý River and on the Rio Negro.[1]

[1] Xarque (1909, 4:284) states that the "Guañana" were situated on the Piquirý River, near the missions of San Pedro, São Paulo, and Concepción.

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

101 619 Lozano (1873–74, 1:422) calls *Guañana*, *Guayaná*, or *Gualacho* the non-*Guaraní* "who lived on the Iguassú River and extended to the Atlantic." His description of the culture of the *Guayaná* of the Iguassú River leaves little doubt that these *Guayaná* were the modern *Caingang*, the more so that the only word of their language which he mentions is a *Caingang* word (soul, "acupli"; modern, "vaicupli").

Azara (1904, pp. 404–407) divides the *Guayaná* into two unrelated groups. The first ranged west of the Uruguay River from the region of La Guayrá to an undetermined boundary in the north. These *Guayaná*, who did not speak *Guaraní*, practiced bloodletting, used long bows, and raised some crops, were certainly identical to the *Caingang* who now occupy the same territory and who share the very culture traits enumerated by Azara.

The other *Guayaná* Indians described by Azara spoke *Guaraní* and lived on the right side of the Paraná River from the Caraguarapé River to the Monday River and on the left side from Corpus to the Iguassú River. The descendants of these *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná* resided, at the beginning of this century, near Villa Azara, on a stream called Pirá-pytá. They disclaimed any connection with the *Caingang*, though Ramon Lista (1883) seems to have included them among the latter. (On the *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná*, see Vogt, 1904, pp. 216–218.)

North of these *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná*, on both sides of the Paraná River, lived a *Caingang* subtribe called *Ingain* (*Tain*) or *Ivotirocaý*, after the stream (a western tributary of the Paraná River) on which they had their headquarters. Their bands were scattered from the stream of Ivotirocaý to the vicinity of La Guayrá falls. Their name, *Tain*, suggests close affinities or identity with the *Taven*, who lived in the same region between the Paraná, the Piquirý, and the Itatú Rivers. These *Ingain* or *Taven* are the Indians whom Lista (1883) and Martinez (1904) describe as *Guayaná*. (On the *Guayaná* question, see Ihering, 1904 a, pp. 23–44; Sampaio, 1897; Martinez, 1904; Vogt, 1904, pp. 352–376.)

At the beginning of the century, *Caingang* groups could be found in the vast territory of the State of Paraná between the Iguassú and the Paranapanema Rivers, but in recent times they had no settlements near either river, but were fairly numerous along the Tibagý and Piquirý Rivers. The *Caingang* who lived between the Rio das Cinzas and the Tibagý River called themselves *Nyacfateitei;* they were separated by the Tibagý River from closely related Indians, who were their bitter enemies.

The names Votóro, Kamé, and Cayurukré, given to *Caingang* groups of Guarapuava and Palmas, are simply appelations of moiety or class subdivisions and not, as it has been long believed, of independent bands

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

or subtribes. The *Dorin*, who lived on the river of the same name, and the *Taven* (see above), whose habitat was bounded by the Paraná, the Piquirý, and the Itatú Rivers, were true *Caingang* subgroups different from the subtribe of the Guarapuava region.

The first settlers of the Campos of Guarapuava found these plains in 1810 entirely occupied by *Caingang*. These Indians were placed in aldeas under the care of Father das Chagas Lima, who wrote the first eye-witness account of them. In order to prevent constant clashes between the *Caingang* and the first colonists, the Brazilian Government made various attempts to settle them in aldeamentos. In 1855–56, the settlements of São Pedro de Alcántara, San Jeronymo, and Jatahý were founded for them on the Tibagý River. However, many *Caingang* groups remained independent in the forests between the Piquirý, upper Ivahý, and the Iguassú Rivers.

A census of the *Caingang* of the Guarapuava region taken in 1827 by Father das Chagas Lima (1842, p. 62) gave: Kamé, 152; Votóro, 120; *Dorin*, 400; *Shocren*, 60; and *Taven*, 240. In 1905, Koenigswald (1908 a, p. 47) estimated the *Caingang* of the State of Paraná at about 2,000.

Coroado.—From the 18th century to the present day, the *Caingang* of São Paulo, Paraná, and Rio Grande do Sul have frequently been designated as *Coronado* or *Coroado* (The Crowned Ones) because of their typical Franciscan-like tonsure, a hairdress which they have abandoned only in recent years. This unfortunate term is responsible for the confusion between the *Caingang-Coroado* and the *Purí-Coroado*, who seem linguistically unrelated.

Coronado, Gualacho, and Caagua.—Lozano (1873, 1:69) applies the name "*Coronados*" to the Indians of the open plains or Campos de los Camperos, del Guarayru, del Cayyu, de los Cabelludos, and de los Coronados between the Huibay (Ivahí) and Iguassú Rivers. These *Coronado*, who were certainly *Caingang*, were the same as the *Gualacho* (*Gualachí*), *Chiqui*,[2] and *Cabelludo*, who lived in the same region. As a matter of fact, Lozano himself considers these names to be synonyms of *Guañaná* (i. e., *Guayaná*). In the Cartas Anuas of 1628 (Cartas Anuas, 1927–29, 20:344), the *Gualacho* who did not speak *Guaraní* lived 4 days' travel from the mission of San Pablo, that is to say, in the basin of the Tibagý River in the very heart of the *Caingang* region. Likewise, the *Caagua* (*Caaigua*, "Forest Dwellers") of the Jesuits who roved between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers, near Acaray in the region of La Guaira, were undoubtedly representatives of the *Caingang* subfamily. Jesuit maps indicate other *Caagua* in the

[2] According to Xarque (1900, 2:62), the *Chiqui* lived between the Iguassú and Itatí (Ieatu) Rivers.

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

101 619 region of Tapé (State of Rio Grande do Sul), an area where *Caingang* groups lived until the 19th century.[3]

Tupí.—The Indians whom Azara (1809, 2:70–75) calls *Tupy*, and who formed an enclave within the *Guaraní* region, were also the ancestors of the modern *Caingang* of the upper Uruguay River. Their territory corresponded to the forested land east of the Uruguay River between the Jesuit missions of San Xavier and San Ángel and between San Xavier and lat. 27°23′ S. Jesuit sources assign to them the region extending between the headwaters of the Piratini (near San Miguel) and the Iguassú and Jacuhy (Igay) Rivers. There is not a detail in the short description of their culture given by Azara which does not fit modern *Caingang*: agriculture, tonsure, fiber cloth, shell necklaces, bow, etc. Moreover, modern *Guaraní* still apply the name *Tupí* to the *Caingang* of San Pedro in the Argentine Territory of Misiones (Ambrosetti, 1895, p. 305).

Botocudo.—The *Aweikoma-Caingang* groups of the State of Santa Catarina, have adopted the use of the labret and are, therefore, often called *Botocudo*, a name which erroneously suggests a connection with the northern *Botocudo* of the State of Espírito Santo.

Bugre.—The name *Bugre* applied by the colonists to the *Caingang* had a pejorative meaning. It is a Portuguese word of the same root as the French "bougre." The *Guaraní* also called the *Caingang* *Caauba*, and *Caahans* (Serrano, 1939, p. 25).

PRESENT SITUATION OF THE CAINGANG GROUPS

Caingang of the State of São Paulo.—At the beginning of the present century there were five groups of wild *Caingang*, known as *Coroado*, between the Peixe, and the Aguapehy (Feio) Rivers. Formerly there were also *Caingang* groups on the lower Tieté River. They resisted the advance of the Whites and continually assaulted the workers building the railroad from São Paulo to Corumbá. In 1910, thanks to the efforts of General Rondon and of the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios, peace was established and many *Caingang* settled around the two government posts created for them near the Aguapehy (Feio) River. Horta Barboza (1913, p. 24), who was one of the inspectors of the Indian Service, estimated the number of *Caingang* in that region at 500. The *Caingang* of São Paulo are also known as *Nyaofateltei* (*Nyakfã-d-ag-téie*, "Those with the long frontal hair").

Caingang of the State of Paraná.—The *Caingang* who are now established around Palmas in the State of Paraná come from the region between the Iguassú and Uruguay Rivers. In 1933, they lived in two villages near Palmas: Toldo las Lontras, on the river of the

[3] Serrano (1941) extends the southern limit of the Coaguas to the Santa Lucia River in Corrientes.

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

same name, and Toldo de Chapecó, in the region of Xanxerê. According to Baldus (1935), the population of the first village was 108, that of the second was somewhat higher but no exact figure is given. In earlier sources, the *Caingang* of the region of Palmas are often designated as Kamé after one of their moiety subdivisions. 101 619

Caingang of Santa Catarina (*Shokleng*, *Socré*, *Botocudo*, *Aweikoma*).—The nomadic or half-nomadic *Caingang* who ranged in the State of Santa Catarina from the Timbo River to the forests of the Serra do Mar and from the Rio Negro to the Uruguay River are better known as *Bugre*, a derogatory term given to them by their enemies the White settlers, or as *Shokleng*, or *Botocudo* of Santa Catarina because of their wooden labrets. Nimuendajú calls them *Aweikoma*, a word of their language meaning Indians. Though they differ culturally from the Paraná *Caingang* (Baldus, 1937 c), there is little doubt that they belong to the same linguistic family, even if their dialect is not easily understood by the *Caingang* of Palmas.

During the whole 19th century, the *Aweikoma-Caigang* of Santa Catarina have stubbornly opposed the encroachments of the Brazilian and German settlers. They were constantly pursued by professional Indian hunters, the famous "bugreiros," until the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios intervened on behalf of the remnants of the tribe. Most of them were settled in the Reservation Duque de Caixas (Municipality of Dalbergia), near the junction of the Plate River with the Rio Itajahi do Norte. In 1930, the reservation consisted of 106 persons. Another small group of *Caingang* was reported in 1935 at São Jão, south of Porto da União.

Caingang of Rio Grande do Sul.—The *Caingang* who ranged north of the Uruguay River from the mouth of the Pepiri-guassú River to that of the Rio das Canoas and those who lived between the Rio das Canoas and the Rio Pelotas were distinct from the *Aweikoma*, though the demarcation between *Caingang-Coroado* and "*Botocudo*" cannot be exactly ascertained. The *Caingang* of the northern bank of the Uruguay River were the same as, or closely related to, the groups who had their villages between the Serra Geral, the upper Uruguay River, and the Sete Missões.

In 1850 Jesuit missionaries founded three settlements for the *Caingang* of the upper Uruguay: Nonohay, Campo do Meio, and Guarita. The Indians of Nonohay numbered about 400; those of Campo do Meio, 90. The Jesuit missions were short-lived; Nonohay, however, was restored in 1872 with 300 *Caingang*, who at the end of the century were almost entirely absorbed into the local rural population. According to Von Ihering (1895, p. 40), six "aldeamentos" of *Caingang* existed in 1864 in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, with a total population of about 2,000. In 1880, their number was already greatly reduced. In the same period "wild" *Caingang* were reported

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

between the Taquarí and Cahy Rivers. Today their settlements lie between Inhacorá (Nucorá) (long. 54°15′ W.) and Lagoa Vermelha (long. 51°30′ W.).

The Caingang of Misiones, Argentina.—At the end of the 19th century about 60 *Caingang* lived in the Argentine Territory of Misiones on the eastern slopes of the Sierra Central, 3 miles (5 km.) from the town of San Pedro, near the Yabotí River. According to Ambrosetti (1895, p. 307), these Indians, who were known in the region as *Tupí*, had come from Palmas or Rio Grande by crossing the upper Uruguay River. A few years later (1902), some of them returned to Brazil.

Literature on the Caingang.—Few data on the *Caingang* can be gleaned from the Colonial literature. Though the *Caingang* are often mentioned in the Jesuit texts on the Paraguayan missions, Lozano (1873–74, 1:418–427) and Azara (1904, pp. 402–407) are the only authors who give short, but fairly accurate, descriptions of these Indians. The accounts of Father Luiz de Cemitille and of Telemaco Morocines Borba were for many years our best sources. Later, L. B. Horta Barboza (1913) published very exact observations on their customs, which were supplemented by Manizer (1930). Ambrosetti (1895) has written an interesting article on the *Caingang* of San Pedro, in Misiones. The social organization and funerary rites of the *Caingang* were the subject of a special monograph by Baldus (1937 c). Henry (1941) studied the decadent remnants of the *Aweikoma* group and described their culture in psychological terms. Their language is known mainly through an excellent dictionary by Father Mansueto Barcatta de Valfloriana (1918, 1920) and a linguistic analysis by Jules Henry (1935). Ploetz and Métraux (1930) have attempted to bring together most of the data about the *Caingang* contained in the literature up to 1928.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—The only *Caingang* who subsisted entirely by hunting and collecting were those of the State of Santa Catarina, the so-called *Botocudo or Aweikoma*. These Indians, however, remembered a time when they, like all other *Caingang* groups, practiced agriculture.

The ancient *Guayaná*, ancestors of the modern *Caingang*, are described as relatively sedentary agriculturists, though our sources stress the importance of hunting in their economy. This was also true for the *Caingang* at the end of the 19th century. All their groups raised maize (red, white, and violet varieties), pumpkins, and beans (a white variety), but perhaps depended less than their *Guaraní* neighbors on these crops. Like many Indians who had become acquainted with farming in recent times through the intermediary of

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

some other tribe, the ancient *Caingang* were improvident and consumed their crops as they matured, storing none for the lean months ahead. On the other hand, Horta Barboza (1913, p. 34) states that maize was as important to them as "wheat for the Europeans." The *Caingang* of the region of San Pedro (Misiones), observed by Ambrosetti (1895, p. 337), opened their clearings in tracts covered with bamboo or sparse bush. They broke the small trees with cudgels or by hand. When the dead trees were dry, they burned them and waited until the beginning of the rainy season for sowing. Women planted crops with digging sticks; they also harvested the crops and carried them home. Men do all the farming in the reservation of Palmas.

In modern groups the tiller of a field is recognized as its exclusive owner; if he dies before harvest, the seedlings are destroyed.

Collecting.—When the *Caingang* were still living in their aboriginal condition, pine nuts of *Araucaria angustifolia*, a tree which has a distribution coinciding more or less with that of the tribe, was fundamental to the native diet. From April to June the Indians gathered in the forests to climb the trees and knock down the ripened fruits, which the women helped to pick up. The climbing technique—also used in getting honey or in robbing birds' nests—was to pass one noose around the feet, another around the tree and the climber's back, and alternately move the two bands up the trunk. The *Aweikoma-Caingang* used only a noose of bamboo strips.

The *Caingang* also collected wild tubers (*Dioscorea* sp.) and a great many wild fruits, such as jaboticaba (*Myrciaria* sp.), pitanga (Myrtaceae sp.), articú (*Annona montana*), pineapples, papaya (*Carica papaya*), caraguatá (*Bromelia* sp.), etc. The starchy pith of the pindo palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) was formerly an important food item, but today has been supplanted by manioc flour.

Honey and the larvae of bees and especially the larvae of the tambú beetle, which abound in decayed palm and bamboo trunks, are prized delicacies. It is also reported in some sources that the ancient *Caingang* did not despise snakes or lizards.

Hunting.—The *Caingang* spend a large portion of their time hunting alone or in small parties. The dog, treated by some groups as an indispensable auxiliary, is a recent acquisition. Some *Caingang* groups lacked it as late as 1912. To develop the smelling powers of their dogs, the Indians expose them to the smoke of the burnt skin of the game which they are to stalk. They never give them the bones of game animals to gnaw, taking great precaution lest the game be offended.

An entire band participates in a peccary hunt. Old and young, preceded by dogs, endeavor to drive the animals toward hunters, who shoot them with arrows. The *Aweikoma-Caingang* follow droves

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

224 of wild pigs for several days, killing all those which come within their reach.

The *Aweikoma-Caingang* concentrate on hunting tapirs, which seem to be abundant in their territory. They track them with dogs or follow the deep "runs" opened by the tapirs in the bush and pursue their prey until it is forced into a stream, where they can kill it with ease. Similarly, they drive deer into streams, where they shoot or club them.

To capture birds, hunters conceal themselves in a shelter built on a tree where the birds roost, and snare them with a noose at the end of a long pole. To catch parrots, they use a tame parrot as a decoy; for pigeons, they put corn out as bait (Horta Barbosa, 1913, p. 31).

The spring-pole traps were constructed like those of the *Caingué* or of the Chaco Indians. They consisted of a flexible sapling and a noose placed near a bait (Horta Barbosa, 1913, p. 30).

224 262 783 **Hunting ritual.**—As a rule a hunter never ate the meat of the game he had slain but gave it to some companion. He could not eat the flesh of a tapir he had killed before he had performed a rite in which he consumed premasticated tapir flesh and the charcoal of the burned tapir's windpipe wrapped in grass (Henry, 1941, p. 86). When the *Aweikoma-Caingang* killed a tapir they stewed "tapir grass" on it and placated its soul with friendly words lest it prevent other tapirs from being caught. Monkeys were also asked to come and share the food of the hunter. *Caingang* of São Paulo considered the jaguar and deer meat taboo (Horta Barbosa, 1913, p. 32); others refrain on some occasions from eating paca, capybara, and armadillo flesh.

226 **Fishing.**—The *Caingang*, although fond of fish, are very poor fishermen. They shoot fish with bows and arrows, impale them with two-pronged spears, or catch them by hand in the falls when shoals of fish ascend the river to spawn. They also capture them by hand in small lagoons formed by floods, which they drain (Horta Barbosa, 1913, pp. 32–33). The *Caingang* of Misiones blocked small streams with V-shaped stone dams. Against the openings they built a platform on which they placed a large mat folded and tied up at one end like a huge bag.

221 **Seasonal rhythm.**—After planting their fields, the *Caingang* of Misiones went fishing along the small tributaries of the Paraná River. Later they moved to the Sierra Central to collect pine nuts, and afterward returned to their fields for the harvest. During their wanderings they hunted and gathered fruits and larvae in the forest.

252 **Food preparation.**—The women do most of the cooking, though men generally prepare the game they kill. The *Caingang* generally roast the unskinned animal in ashes, on a spit, or on a rectangular babracot. The earth oven serves for baking large slices of meat,

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

for example, tapir. A large pit is dug in the ground and lined with stones. A fire is built within the hole until the stones are glowing. The ashes and embers are then removed, the stones are covered with leaves, and the meat, carefully wrapped, is placed inside and buried under a thick layer of soil. Twelve hours later the meat is taken out, perfectly cooked. Fish are broiled on a babracot, then stored on an indoor platform. 252

Women pound maize with heavy wooden pestles in cylindrical wooden mortars, which are sometimes large enough to accommodate three workers at a time and too heavy to be moved (fig. 58, *d*). They also have smaller mortars with which they use stone pestles. Maize flour is prepared as mush or is kneaded into dough and baked in ashes. Maize kernels are often soaked in water to the point of rotting, mashed, kneaded into loaves with saliva added, and roasted in ashes.

The pith of pindo palms is crushed in a mortar, sifted, and roasted in a pan, just as with manioc flour.

Soup is made from husked, chewed, soaked, and pounded pine nuts. They are also roasted in the shell on the embers; pine-nut dough may also be kneaded into small loaves and baked in the ashes. Piñons are preserved in tightly closed baskets soaked in water for a month and a half. In the past salt was unknown; tart malagüeta berries (*Capsicum frutescens*) were used instead. [251] [263]

To stir the fire or lift food to and from it, the *Caingang* use a curved withe (Manizer, 1930, pp. 772, 774; Henry, 1941, pl. 2, *f*).

HOUSES

Lozano (1873, 1:424) describes the *Caingang* or *Guayaná* hut as follows: 342

> They stick in the ground a long forked pole against which they lean crosswise four other poles. In this way they make four divisions covered with palm leaves. In each division lives a family with the children. Each compartment communicates with the other by small doors. In each community there are five or six such huts placed at convenient distance from each other so that everyone can hunt and fish.

This type of house has entirely disappeared among modern *Caingang*, but a few years ago the *Aweikoma* remembered it as the house of the open savannas and were able to reconstruct one (Henry, 1941, p. 166).

The more recent *Caingang* dwelling was a lean-to (fig. 56), which often was made into a gable-roofed hut when two structures of this type were joined. The *Aweikoma-Caingang* live either in an arched lean-to which is open on three sides or in a hut composed of two such units, the arches being made to descend to the ground at both ends (Henry, 1941,

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

342 pp. 164–166). Such dwellings are thatched with palm fronds or comparable materials (fig. 57). Most *Caingang* groups live in houses identical to those of the *Caingué*. When on a journey the *Caingang* sleep

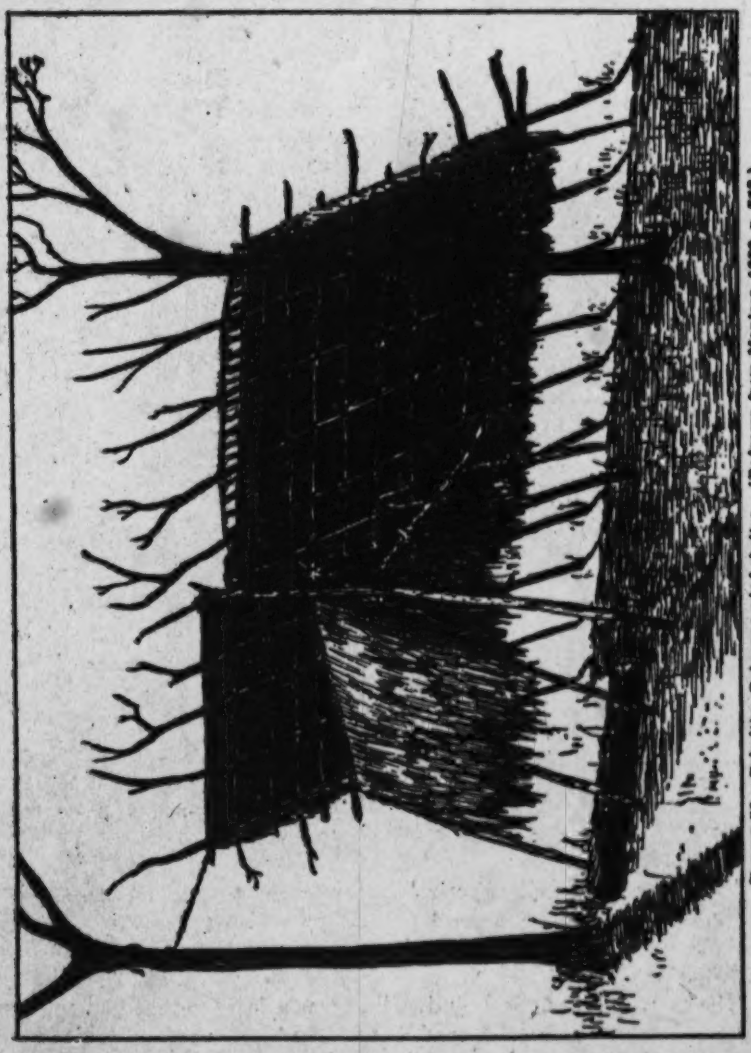

FIGURE 58.—Primitive Caingang wind shelter. (Redrawn from Manizer, 1930, p. 768.)

in flimsy shelters or rest in a sort of nest which they build in the top of a tree (Horta Barbosa, 1913, p. 35).

513 Hammocks of cotton are a recent *Caingang* acquisition. The ancient *Guayaná* slept, according to Portuguese chroniclers, on branches

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

342

PLATE IV.—Modern Caingang house. (Redrawn from Koenigswald, 1905 b, fig. 2.)

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

513 or skins. Their descendants, the *Caingang*, rest on large strips of bark or thick layers of palm fronds, but many groups have adopted platform beds.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The wild *Caingang* go naked except for a belt—generally a skein of brilliant brown threads of the bark of the young *Philodendron* root or of palm twisted into a cord—and a square cloak (kurú) reserved for cold weather (fig. 58, *a*, *b*). This garment is passed under the right arm and fastened on the left shoulder so as to leave both arms free. Women wear a short skirt made of caraguatá fibers, secured around the waist by a wide belt of bark dyed a brilliant black. Both sexes wrap strips or strings of peccary hair or of bark around their ankles. Some *Caingang* tie up the foreskin of the penis and tuck it under their belts. On solemn occasions, *Caingang* women who were in contact with the *Guaraní* missions wore a narrow sleeveless shirt (tipoy) made of caraguatá fibers. Koenigswald (1908 b, p. 31) reproduces a feather apron which he describes as a women's garment. *Caingang* women are also said to have used a bark band passed between the legs and fastened to the belt.

301 **Ornaments.**—Some *Aweikoma-Caingang* of the State of Santa Catarina and of Rio Grande do Sul wear long rosin labrets like those of their *Guaraní* neighbors. Others have wooden lip sticks (generally made of pine knot) 2 inches (¾ cm.) long "in the shape of a nail." This usage is responsible for the name *Botocudo* given to the *Caingang* in these States.

301 292 237 Feather ornaments were common among the *Caingang*, but except for the small "visors" of short toucan feathers worn around the forehead, they are rarely described in our sources. Debret (1941, pls, 11 and 12) has endeavored to represent a "Coroado" (*Caingang*) chief displaying all his ornaments. The chief wears a fan-shaped feather headdress attached to his nape. Long feather tassels are tied to his upper arm and under his knees. The *Caingang* of the State of Paraná don, on festive occasions, a feather cape, that covers them from head to foot (Koenigswald, 1908 b, p. 27). If this ornament actually was used by these Indians, it may well represent a survival of the feather cloaks of the ancient *Guaraní*.

301 [231] During dances, men and women often strew down over their heads. Necklaces of seeds, animal teeth, bird bones, claws, and hoofs were generally slung around the shoulders; those composed entirely of monkey teeth were especially valued. The *Caingang* of Guarapuava and of Misiones had necklaces of small shell disks (*Orthalicus phogera*). Some *Caingang* wore necklaces which weighed nearly 6 pounds!

302 Until recently, the *Caingang* wore a circular tonsure on top of the head; the fashion disappeared among adults after their contact with

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

the Whites, but was retained for small children. In recent times the Santa Catarina *Aweikoma-Caingang* of both sexes shaved the hair over the forehead and on top of the head (Paula Souza, 1924, p. 122). 302

The *Caingang* abhor body hair and always remove it. Combs consist of small wooden splinters passed through a slit in a piece of reed.

The *Caingang* seem to have used charcoal more than urucú for body painting. Among the *Aweikoma-Caingang* certain body paints belong to exogamic groups of people. The main motifs are dots, vertical lines, circles, and horizontal bars with vertical lines. The *Caingang* observed by Manizer (1930, p. 771) painted themselves only for funeral ceremonies. They regarded the black stripes on their chest as a protection against the ghosts. The pigment was charcoal mixed with honey and water or with the sticky sap of a creeper. 302 386 531 [764] [789]

TRANSPORTATION

River navigation never was so important to the *Caingang* as to their *Tupí-Guaraní* neighbors. To cross a river, the *Aweikoma-Caingang* fell a tree on each side of the river and connect the intervening space with a tree trunk braced with poles fixed in the river bed. 491

Caingang women carry babies on their backs, often in a net, by means of bark tumplines. Among the *Aweikoma-Caingang* these straps are 4 inches (10 cm.) wide, woven of embira fibers. Knapsacks are suspended by a tumpline. 854 482

MANUFACTURES

Netting.—According to Koenigswald (1908 b, p. 49), the Paraná *Caingang* made net bags of caraguatá fibers. 286

Basketry.—*Caingang* carrying baskets have a hexagonal weave, and, like those of the *Tupí*, are elongated and rectangular knapsacks open on top and on the outer side, so that only the bottom and sides support the burden. Basketry containers woven from thin strips of split bamboo, frequently have stepped designs produced by alternating black and natural color strands (fig. 58, *c*). Some baskets, like those of the *Guayaná*, are made in two parts that telescope into each other. 285 415

The *Aweikoma* have three main types of baskets: large baskets for transportation of goods; small, impervious water or honey containers of Taquara mansa strips coated with wax; and small receptacles, similarly waterproofed, used as cups and dishes.

Spinning.—*Caingang* textiles are made with the fibers of the ortiga brava, probably a Bromelia. Women seize the leaves with leather-covered hands, cut them at the base, and remove all the thorns, then macerate the leaves in water, dry, and, finally, crush them. The fibers are then rolled into threads with the palm of the hand against the 283

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

283 thigh. The threads, wound in a ball, are soaked in water mixed with ashes, then boiled, and again carefully washed; sometimes they are left in running water, so that they become white and flexible. Occa-
[386] sionally, part of the thread is dyed with catigua bark.

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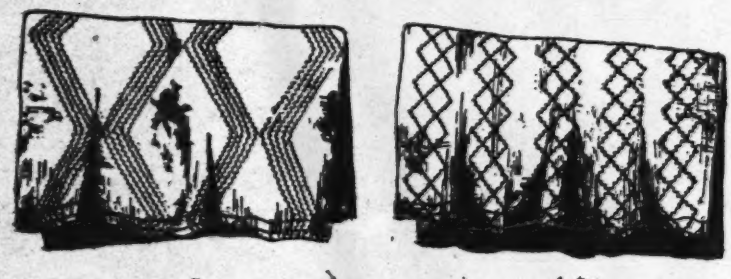

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FIGURE 58.—*Caingang* manufactures. *a*, *b*, Kurus or nettle-fiber cloaks (redrawn from Koenigswald, 1906 *b*, figs. 15–16); *c*, twilled basket (redrawn from Koenigswald, 1906 *b*, fig. 20); *d*, wooden mortar in which three pestles are used at the same time (redrawn from Manizer, 1930); *e*, *f*, pottery jars (redrawn from Manizer, 1930).

286 **Weaving.**—Fabrics are woven by hand, sometimes on a simple loom, and always display a stepped, dark design which crosses the surface diagonally (fig. 58, *a*, *b*).

323 **Ceramics.**—For pottery, the *Caingang* of Misiones use a blackish earth from nearby cliffs. For tempering material, they bake lumps of

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

clay, then crush and sift them. The composition of the clay used by other groups is unknown. The potter first models the base of the pot by hand, then builds up the walls by adding successive coils, smoothing the sides with her fingers or with pieces of wood or shell, a corn cob, a stone, or a metal spoon. To keep the clay soft, she sprinkles it with water or saliva. The following day the pot is again smoothed, then left to dry in the shade and later in the sun. When thoroughly dry, the pot is covered with branches and fired in the open until red. Later, water mixed with ground maize is sprinkled on the pot "in order that it may be unbreakable." Cracks are filled with wax while the pot is still hot. The firing, however, is always imperfect; sherds of the heaviest *Caingang* pots reveal a thick layer of unfired clay in the middle. The presence of a foreigner during firing endangers the process, and may cause the pot to crack beyond repair.

The *Caingang* of Misiones make their pots characteristically black by exposing them to smoke in a basket before they are fired.

Caingang ware has a conical base so that it can be set into the sand (fig. 58, *e*, *f*). The *Caingang-Coroado* make large beer jars, strikingly like *Guaraní* jugs and funeral urns, with a conical body surmounted by a narrow edge. Besides large pots, the *Caingang* also manufacture flat roasting pans and conical drinking cups with thin walls.

Fire.—The *Caingang* fire drill consists of a stick of hard wood inserted into an arrow shaft and twirled between the palms of the hand. The hearth is a piece of soft wood. Dry palm shoots serve as tinder. According to a single authority, the *Caingang* also produce fire by sawing one piece of wood with another, a procedure observed by Rengger among the *Cainguá*, but otherwise not reported for South America. The fire is activated with a fan. To avoid having to make fire, the natives carry a glowing brand in a pot or in a section of bamboo coated with clay.

Weapons: *Bows and arrows.*—Bows are made of páo d'arco (*Tabebuia impetiginosa*) or of black ipé (*Tabebuia chrysantha*). Before the *Caingang* acquired iron, they wrought the bow stave into shape by rubbing it with sandstone and flint flakes, and smoothed it with the rough leaves of umbauba (*Cecropia* sp.). Finally, the stave was warmed against a fire and smeared with grease. At each end a plaited bulge or, rarely, two right-angled notches prevented the caraguatá or embira string from slipping. The stave was wrapped with strips of cipo embé (*Philodendron imbe*) (fig. 59, *g*), which at both ends formed a bulge to prevent the string from slipping. Some *Caingang* bows were 9 feet long, but they generally averaged from 7 to 8 feet.

The arrow shaft, according to the locality, is made of taquara da frecha (*Gynerium sagittatum*), or of palo alecrim, a white wood that

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

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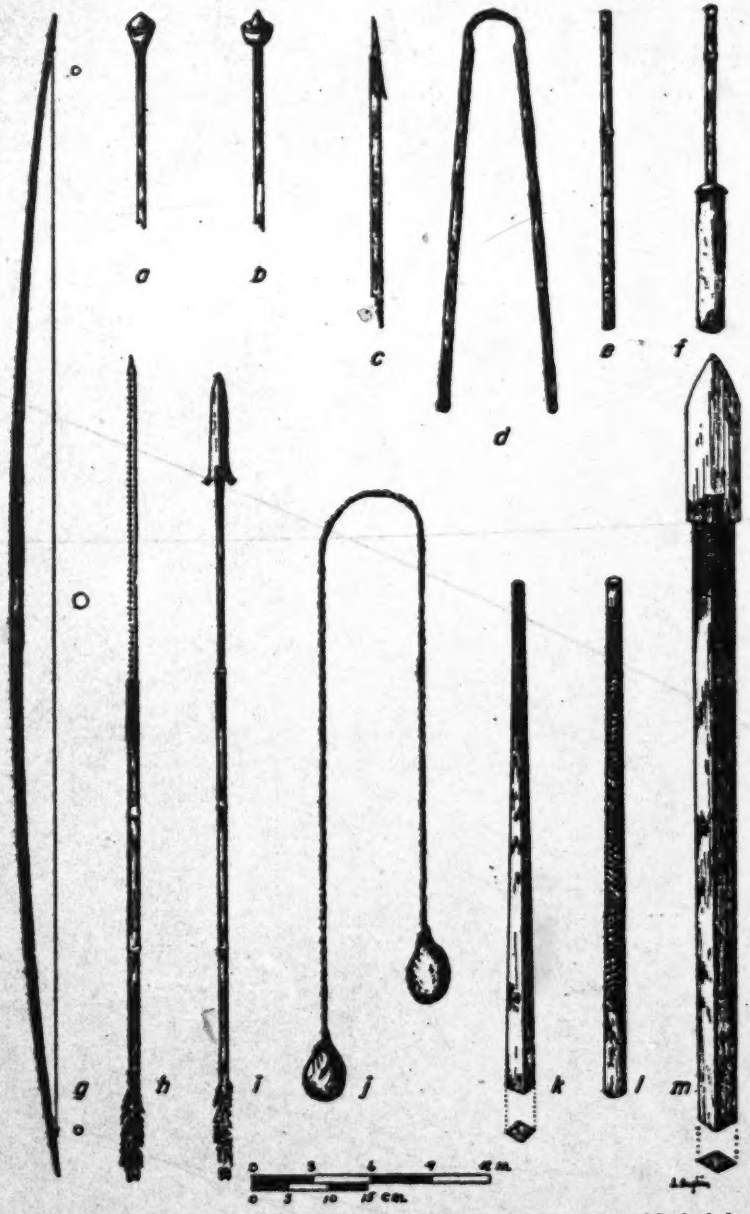

FIGURE 59.—*Caingang* weapons and artifacts. *a*, *b*, Bird arrows; *c*, arrow with single-barb bone point; *d*, fire tongs; *e*, flute; *f*, trumpet; *g*, bow; *h*, arrow with barbed wooden point; *i*, arrow with iron point; *j*, bolas; *k*, wooden club; *l*, wooden club covered with basketry; *m*, spear with iron point. (Redrawn from Kozmigwald, 1908 *a*, figs. *a*–*b*; 1908 *b*, figs. 4–20.)

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

turns very light when dry. To straighten a reed, they lash it against a horizontal piece of wood, fastening a weight at one end. Arrowheads are wide taquara splinters, barbed rods (fig. 59, *h*), wooden rods tipped with a sharp point of monkey or deer bones (fig. 59, *c*), and massive, blunt wooden knobs used for birds (fig. 59, *a*, *b*). Some bird arrows are also tipped with four slightly diverging sticks or thorns. In recent years, the hunting and war arrows of the Santa Catarina *Aweikoma-Caingang* have been tipped with duck-bill iron heads (fig. 59, *i*). Feathering is of the arched type (eastern Brazilian). Hunters always carry a ready supply of bone heads, shafts, and feathers to replace lost arrows.

Spears are common among the *Caingang*, who tipped them with iron blades obtained from the Whites (fig. 59, *m*). The *Aweikoma* were extremely skillful in handling these weapons, which they decorated with fire-engraved designs and with basketry coverings.

The clubs of the Paraná *Caingang* are short cylindrical cudgels covered with basketry (fig. 59, *l*); those of the so-called *Botocudo* are more or less tapering, with the cross section often prismatic, thus presenting sharp cutting edges (fig. 59, *k*). They are decorated with fire engravings and with a basketry sheath. The cudgels of the São Paulo *Caingang* have a bulging head and are from 5 to 6 feet long.

Countless stone rings have been found on archeological sites of the State of Rio Grande do Sul. In the 17th century, some tribes of the upper Paraguay River used clubs with stone heads (itaiza), but there is no evidence that these Indians were *Caingang;* it is more likely that they were *Guaraní.*

To frustrate attack or pursuit by an enemy, the *Caingang* strewed the paths leading to their camps with caltrops made of sharp bone splinters bound in a bundle with cotton thread and wax. They also dug pitfalls in the bottom of which they placed sharp spears.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Moieties.—The *Caingang* of Palmas have two exogamous, patrilineal moieties, each split into two groups. Baldus (1935, pp. 44–47) does not give the names of the moieties, merely stating that they were called by the word for both "friend" and "two," and that fellow members considered one another cousins. On the other hand, he lists the four subgroups according to their prestige as follows: Votóro, Kadnyerú (Kañerú), Aniky, and Kamé. The reason for this preferential ranking could not be ascertained. Every individual is born into a moiety, but is assigned to one of the subgroups at a mortuary feast by a man or a woman of his own moiety.

Among the *Caingang* of Palmas, the father decided, when he painted a son or a daughter for the first time, to which of the two

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

616 groups of his moiety he would forever belong (Baldus, 1937 c). The alleged purpose of this assignment was to equalize the groups numerically, so that they could be paired for dancing; but, as each group danced separately, the explanation is probably a rationalization. In fact, the two divisions are not even approximately equal. Members of each group could be recognized by their facial painting. The Kadnyerú display round patterns, the Kamé stripes. (See Horta Barboza, 1913, p. 39.)

Nimuendajú's (1914, pp. 373–375) earlier report concerning the *Caingang* between the Tieté and Ijuhí Rivers, speaks of two moieties associated with the ancestral twins Kañerú and Kamé. The former was of fiery and resolute, but volatile, temperament, and of light, slim build. Kamé, on the other hand, was mentally and physically slow, but persistent. Each moity included three (formerly four) classes: Paí, Votóro, Pénye.

All natural phenomena are divided between these two moieties; the sun is Kamé, the moon, Kañerú. In general, slender and spotted objects belong to the Kañerú, clumsy and striped ones to the Kamé. Their use in ritual is confined to the appropriate group.

The *Aweikoma-Caingang* lack moieties, but have five groups with distinctive sets of personal names and body-paint designs. Though recent genealogical inquiry failed to establish either strict inheritance of group membership or exogamy, the natives insisted that individuals bearing the same designs should not marry, so that a former patrilineal clan system is indicated (Henry, 1941, pp. 59, 88, 175 f.).

Marriage groups.—Concerning marriage rules between sub-
582 groups, Horta Barboza (1913, p. 26) gives the following information:

> Marriages obey complicated rules depending on the groups [moieties] and subgroups into which the *Kaingang* families are divided. The most important of these groups are the Camens and Canherucrens; marriages can take place only between the men of one group and the women of the other. However, it must not be thought that it is licit for a Camen to marry any Canherucren for, in order to make things more complicated, there is a division into subgroups, fairly numerous. Individuals of a certain Kamé subgroup can only marry a woman of a certain Canherucren [Kadnyerú] subgroup, save for a few exceptions which confuse a question which otherwise should be so simple.

601 **Kinship terms.**—The relationship system is based on relative age. A man calls his father, his grandfather, and the men of their generations by the same term, and his mother and grandmother by another term. He uses a single name for all male and female blood relatives, excepting real parents and grandparents and grandparents' siblings and own children. One word (child) serves for all people much younger than ego and for the children of all people with whom he has sexual relations. There is a word for husband and another for wife. A single word applies to all relatives-in-law (Henry, 1941, pp. 177–178).

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Chiefs wield little authority. They work in their fields and hunt like the rank and file of the group. Their position is conspicuous only when the community organizes a big feast, which is always given in the chief's name. Chiefs also are the leaders of any collective undertaking. They maintain their hold on their people by distributing gifts and looking after their well-being (Koenigswald, 1908 b, p. 47). A chief who is overbearing or miserly is abandoned by his followers. The son of a chief succeeds to his father if he is acceptable to the group (Horta Barboza, 1913, p. 25). 622

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—Formerly, a pregnant *Caingang* woman did not consort with her husband, and both observed food taboos. Women gave birth in the forest, sheltered from the supposedly malefi- 843 cent moonbeans.[4] A few days after delivery the mother and child were 844 [852] fumigated, a rite accompanied by a drinking bout.

Nowadays, a *Caingang* woman bears her child wherever she happens to be, knowing how to take care of herself even if she is alone. Usually, she is delivered squatting while a midwife embraces her from behind, raising her now and then until travail is over. The navel cord is cut with a fingernail and tied with a caraguatá string.

Among the *Aweikoma*, the placenta and umbelical cord, wrapped in medicinal herbs, are placed in a basket and sunk in the stream. The mother winds a long cord around the ankles of the baby and removes it 15 days later during a feast given by the father to a group of relatives. The umbilical cord is disposed of by the mother's brother or his wife or by the mother's sister, who later become ceremonial parents. 846

In other *Caingang* groups, the mother pulls open the infant's eyelids immediately after birth "in order that he might see," breathes into his eyes and ears, and presses his temples and head from front to back. The father does not pay much attention to the baby until it is old enough to speak: Then he gives it 5 to 10 names. In the [553] south, the names were bestowed without any rite after the above-mentioned ceremony.

The *Caingang* show the greatest tenderness to their children, seldom punishing them or using harsh words. 854

According to Horta Barboza (1913, p. 27), when a boy reaches the age of 7, his mother rubs his body with the leaves of a certain tree and pours water over his head to make him courageous and diligent. 852 553

[4] It is reported that they gave birth unassisted in a special cabin (Serrano, 1939, p. 26).

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

553 The child then receives a new name. Later, he may adopt names
852 that refer to notable incidents of his life.

852 In the Santa Catarina group, the perforation of the boys' lower lip
304 at the age of 2 or 3 is marked by great celebrations. Women, holding gourd rattles, dance with warriors, who beat the ground with their spears. The children are intoxicated with beer, and shaken until half unconscious, when their ceremonial fathers pierce their lips with a sharp stick (Henry, 1941, pp. 195–197).

582 **Marriage.**—According to Baldus' census (1937 c, p. 43), men are generally older than their wives, in some cases as much as 15 to 20 years; among 37 percent of the couples there was a difference of 10 years.

A man marries when 18 to 20 years of age. If his bride is not yet of age, he stays with her parents, waiting for the first signs of puberty. In case of child betrothal, the lad's parents have to provide for the girl's subsistence.

595 Polygyny is mentioned by all the early sources, but details vary. Some authors declare that it was an old man's privilege, others that it was restricted to the chiefs, good hunters, or famous warriors. There are also indications of sororal polygyny and of marriage simultaneously to a woman and her daughter (Teschauer, 1929, p. 350). In *Tupí-Guaraní* fashion, a girl often married her mother's brother.

[184] The *Caingang* of Palmas are, and claim always to have been monogamous.

Manizer (1930) states that though a man may not marry his cousin—he does not specify which—he usually takes her as a concubine until her own marriage. If pregnancy occurs meanwhile, the girl, as a rule, commits abortion. It often happened that a man grew fonder of his cousin than of his legal wife, and that he sometimes
[578] resolutely opposed her marriage. The continuation of such relationship was bitterly resented by the legitimate wife.

For the *Aweikoma*, Henry infers that 60 percent of all marriages are monogamous, a fair proportion of the remainder being polyandrous.

585 A marriage ceremony witnessed by Manizer (1930, p. 776) took place during a drinking bout. Some old men seized the bridegroom and bride and pushed them toward each other in spite of the woman's resistance. Then they dragged them into the bridegroom's hut and left them there under a blanket. The following day the woman ran away, but was brought back by force.

591 Matrilocal residence, formerly the *Caingang* rule, is still frequent, though many couples set up their own households. Baldus (1937 c, p. 43) heard "that only lazy men lived in their father-in-law's house and that, should the father-in-law die, the husband would have to 'govern' his mother-in-law."

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

Funerary rites.—Death may result from the abduction of the soul by some spirit or by the ghost of a relative. 761

> The ghost-soul loves and pities the living whom it has deserted, but the latter fear and abhor the ghost-soul. [Henry, 1941, p. 67.]

Not long ago the *Aweikoma-Caingang* cremated the dead and later collected and buried the bones, along with part of the deceased's property. After a cremation, they extinguished their fires and drilled fire anew. The soul of the deceased loomed as a peril especially to the surviving spouse, who went into retreat, abstained from eating meat, and underwent lustration. To terminate mourning, the mourner's hair and fingernails were clipped, pounded up, and thrown into the water. Then followed a beer festival, accompanied by dances and songs, during which the widow drank beer from a bamboo tube. Keening was not confined to the period of death, but occurred throughout the following year whenever relatives recalled their bereavement. 764 765

The *Caingang* now inter their dead with knees drawn up. Chants are sung around the body during and after its transportation to the grave. One cemetery had two central tumuli, 10 to 20 feet by 18 to 25 feet (3 to 6 m. by 5.5 to 7.5 m.) surrounded by vertically walled ditches. The same tumuli have been reported for the 18th-century *Guayaná*, ancestors of the *Caingang*[8] (fig. 60). The corpse, with funeral deposit, is put in a deep chamber, roofed with palm fronds and earth. The villagers at once desert the settlement and hastily construct new dwellings in the woods. For 3 days they eat only palm shoots (palmitos) and maize boiled by throwing heated potsherds in the water. They destroy part of the deceased's property and impose a strict taboo on his name. 764 768

The grave is periodically visited to renew the mound and to hold a memorial service with lamentations, dancing, chanting, and drinking. For several years, at dawn and dusk the relatives of a dead person utter funeral laments. 765

In days of old if a person died far away from his village, his companions interred his body on the spot but kept his head in a pot. On returning home they celebrated a funeral ceremony and buried the head in the communal cemetery (Horta Barboza, 1913, pp. 29–30). 766

Life after death.—Before the burial, the shaman, as he rattles his gourd by the corpse, warns the soul about the lurking dangers in the other world. He tells it that it will arrive at two paths, one leading to the cobweb of a gigantic spider and the other to a trap which will 775 764

[8] See Lozano (1873–74, 1: 423): "forman un género de cementerio, que conservan muy limpio; y en él abren sus sepulturas, y en enterrando á alguno, ponen sobre cada una un montón de tierra en figura piramidal, en cuyo remate sientan un medio calabazo, y al pié conservan de continuo un fuego lento que van a cebar todos los dias con leña muy tenue, sus mas cercanos parientes. El calabazo, dicen, es para que no falte al difunto con que beber, si le afligiere la sed; y el fuego para que ahuyente las moscas." On the funerary mounds, see also Serrano (1939, pp. 15–16).

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

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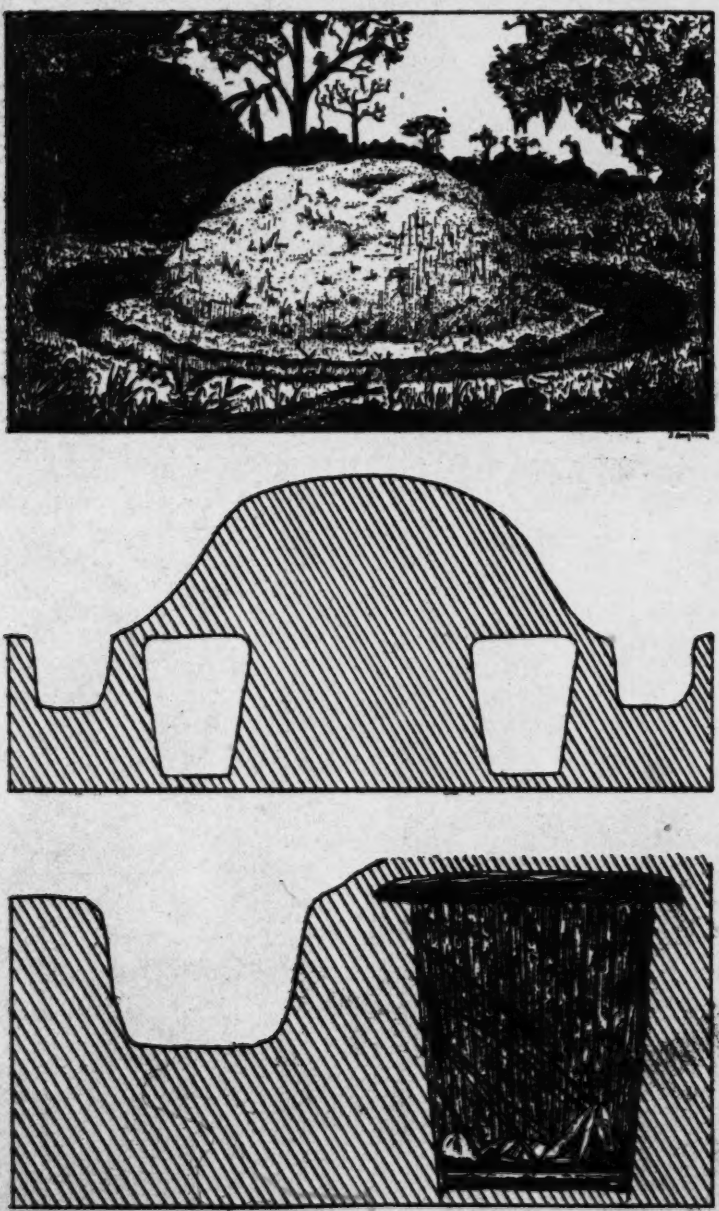

FIGURE 60.—*Caingang* burial mound. *Top:* View of mound shortly after completion. *Center:* Cross section of mound showing location of burial chambers. *Bottom:* Cross section of burial chamber in mound with body and accompanying grave artifacts. (Redrawn from Manizer, 1930, p. 767.)

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

precipitate it into a boiling pot. He also describes the slippery path 764
from which it may fall into a swamp, where a huge crab awaits it 775
(Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 372).

But at last the soul arrives at an underworld in the west, where it is day during our night, and where the forests teem with tapirs, deer, and other game. The souls of the aged become young again and live for the span of a human life. After a second death, the soul turns into a small insect, generally a mosquito or an ant, whose death ends everything; for this reason the *Caingang* never kill these insects (Baldus, 1937 c, p. 49).

WARFARE

A man who has been offended by some member of the community 578
stands in front of his hut and in a loud voice enumerates all his griev- 627
ances, sometimes bursting into a chant. He ends with threats against his enemy who, in the meantime, behaves in the same manner on the other side of the camp. After reciprocal abuses that often last a whole night, the challenger, followed by a group of supporters, advances toward the offender, who is immediately assisted by his own partisans. Both factions, armed with wooden clubs, fight a pitched battle, but are careful not to kill anybody. The sham battles of the *Caingang* have been described by many observers and may well be formalized brawls which have been interpreted as sportive games.

Feuds between *Caingang* groups may develop into regular warfare. 628
When one group engages another, the members of the Kadnyerú moity 726
subdivision always form the first line. The Kamé constitute the second [616]
line and enter the fight as a reserve to take the place of the exhausted Kadnyerú. Battles between related groups are always preceded by exchanges of insults and by other demonstrations of anger. Although [411]
no weapons but cudgels are used, blows are so lustily administered that many are seriously wounded or killed.

Wars against foreign tribes or the Whites were less strictly pat- 726
terned. The *Caingang*, like all Indians, relied mainly on surprise 648
attacks carried on at dawn. After a general discharge of arrows, the warriors, armed with their clubs, rushed against the enemy (Horta Barboza, 1913, p. 42).

Women and children were generally spared and were adopted by 727
the victorious group. They cut off the heads of slain enemies but did not keep them as trophies.

ETIQUETTE

When a *Caingang* visits another village, he hides in the vicinity until 574
able to announce his presence to some relative. The host receives him 576
with his face covered with a cloth and does not look at his guest until

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

574 food is served. If the visitor mentions the death of some relative, the
576 women start to wail (Ambrosetti, 1895, p. 321).

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

534 **Musical instruments.**—Most information on *Caingang* musical instruments comes from Manizer (1934). The trumpets (fig. 59, *f*) have a bell made of a thick section of bamboo and the blow hole on the side, a rare feature in South America. The bell of some trumpets is made of the involucres of the coqueiro or gerivá palm (*Cocos botryophora*) (Teschauer, 1929, p. 348; Debret, 1940, pl. 11).

The clarinets are of the idioglotal type, that is, the tongue is split from the reed mouthpiece. The bell is either a gourd or a cowhorn. The *Caingang* also have an instrument which Izikowitz (1935, p. 254) calls "slit-valve." According to Manizer (1934, p. 312), it consists of a reed tube, closed at one end and crushed at the middle so that it bursts into longitudinal slits.

In playing this instrument, an air current blown through the open end passes out through the slits thereby causing these to vibrate and produce a tone.

Similar instruments were used by the *Bororo* and the *Paressí-Cabishí*.

The *Caingang* are among the few South American Indians who play the nose flute. This flute, about 3 feet (1 m.) long, has two stops at the distal end and one at the proximal end; the blow hole is in the septum of the reed, which has been left in place (fig. 59, *e*). Another flute, reproduced by Izikowitz (1935, p. 299, figs. *a*, *g*) has the same number of stops but is blown sidewise (transverse flute). It is possible that the latter type is also blown with the nose. The specimen is decorated with a basketry cover.

The *Caingang* also play the notched flute (quena) with four stops. They do not seem to have known the panpipes, though Izikowitz (1935, p. 408) attributes it to them on very flimsy evidence. This instrument does not occur in the whole area, and its presence among the *Caingang* would constitute an inexplicable anomaly.

The rhythms of dances and songs are beaten with the gourd rattle and the stamping tube. The handle of the rattle is often trimmed with bark strips and feather tufts; the gourd itself is covered with engraved designs.

593 **Songs.**—The words of songs, generally improvised, refer to events taking place around the singers or allude to past wars, hunting, and other economic activities. Sometimes a singer enumerates his grievances against a fellow tribesman, an action regarded as a challenge. The chants of the *Aweikoma-Caingang* are a succession of meaningless syllables often sung on one note. These Indians seldom sing in unison.

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

Dances.—The members of a *Caingang* subgroup dance together. The dancers, about 3 feet (1 m.) apart, form two concentric circles around a line of fires, the men inside and the women outside. A singer in the center first shakes his rattle and, placing each foot alternately before and behind, dances sideways. At this signal, the other performers shake their rattles, and both circles begin to turn in one direction, following the rhythm of the song and rattle. Men without rattles strike the ground with stamping tubes. Behind them, women lift their forearms and move their empty hands slightly to each side in a kind of "blessing" gesture. When the leader is back to the starting point, he stops, and the others wait quietly until he is rested or is replaced by another leader.

Toys and games.—*Caingang* children are very skillful at filliping sticks, maize kernels, and small arrows resting on the bent arm. Maize shuttlecocks are batted with the palm of the hand. Children spin tops made of a clay whorl or a lump of wax on a stick.

The favorite *Caingang* adult sport is a mock battle between members of two communities, who hurl small clubs or, at night, firebrands at each other. Although these weapons may wound or even kill, casualties are not resented and do not call for blood revenge. This sport is played on open ground where heaps of clubs have previously been deposited. Women, protecting themselves with bark shields, run among the players to pick up and hand the clubs to their men. The *Aweikoma* throw stones wrapped in small fiber bags, which are parried with short clubs. The *Caingang* are also fond of wrestling.

Narcotics.—A great many stone pipes have been found in the *Caingang* area—a puzzling fact since smoking has not been observed among these Indians.

Drinking and intoxicants.—The *Caingang* prepare intoxicants from maize, sweet potatoes, pine nuts, honey, and the fruit of several species of palm, especially buriti (*Mauritia vinifera*) and jussara (*Euterpe* sp.). Maize is slightly roasted over ashes, ground, and boiled in large pots for about a night. The next day part of the mass is chewed, then boiled again with the remainder. Shortly before the feast, the liquid is transferred to a huge trough made of a tree trunk and half buried in the ground. The liquor is heated by a fire built around the trough or by red-hot stones or potsherds which are thrown into it. During 2 or 3 days of fermentation, men dance around the beer, singing, shaking their rattles, and beating the ground with the stamping tubes.[6] The beer is often mixed with honey.

The *Aweikoma-Caingang* start to prepare their mead a month before its consumption. A mixture of honey and water, to which they add

[6] Koenigswald (1908 b, p. 43) distinguishes three kinds of beer: Guye-fi, made of naturally fermented maize meal; quequi (Kiki), prepared with maize and honey; and guyebuyri, made of chewed maize.

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

273 the juice of a fern to "make the beer red," is fermented in wooden troughs from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) long made of tree stumps hollowed out by burning and chopping, then closed at both ends with wax. To accelerate fermentation, the beverage is heated every 3d day with red-hot stones and then covered with pieces of bark.

COMMUNICATION

202 The *Caingang* leave messages in symbolic code for those who will follow the same path. A stick with honey indicates where a bees nest has been found; dolls and sticks represent a feast to which some group is being invited; an inclined stick shows the time of day at which some event took place; feathers scattered on the ground tell of a successful hunting party, etc. (Manizer, 1930, p. 790). Lozano (1873, 1:425) stated that to declare war, the *Guayaná* (i. e., the *Caingang*) stuck an arrow into a tree near a path followed by their enemies. [574] A circle of maize cobs on the ground or hanging from a tree was an invitation to a drinking bout.

RELIGION

771 **Religious beliefs.**—The *Aweikoma* conceive the world to be strongly animistic, peopled with ghosts (kuplêng) and spirits (nggĩ-776 yúdn) of all sorts who dwell in trees, rocks, mountains, stars, winds, and in large and small animals. To meet a spirit is, as a rule, an ominous event. But spirits may be friendly and appear to a man to offer their aid. Those who are assisted in hunting by a guardian spirit share with it the game which they have killed. A man may even adopt a spirit child and place it in his wife's womb.

825 *Aweikoma-Caingang* share the widespread belief that all animals have "masters," that is to say, spirits that control and protect them. Such spirits are willing to give up some of their kin to satisfy men's needs, but are angered if people destroy them wantonly or if hunters refuse an animal "offered" to them.

756 **Shamanism.**—The *Caingang* shaman consults spirits at night, puffing his pipe until he is surrounded by a cloud of smoke. The spirits talk to him in long whistles and tell him where to find a favorable hunting ground or abundant honey. They may also reveal the outcome of an undertaking involving the band.

755 Shamans are also doctors, but this role is less conspicuous among 757 the *Caingang* than elsewhere and is even absent among the *Caingang* of Palmas and of São Paulo. Among the decadent *Aweikoma-Caingang*, observed by Henry (1941, p. 76), shamans only treated members of their immediate family and did not receive a fee for their cures. The shaman knows many magic remedies, generally herbs, the virtues

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

of which have been revealed to him by some spirit. A certain grass, said to be the favorite food of tapirs, is endowed with great medicinal virtues. It is used not only to cure but also to prevent sickness (Henry, 1941, p. 88). Massages play a great part in therapeutics. Sometimes these are so violent that the practitioner steps on the patient's stomach. The skin is frequently rubbed with pulverized barks or plants before the treatment. Burning herbs are used therapeutically, particularly for wounds. A patient bitten by a snake is laid upon a slanting platform over a fire and given warm water to drink to make him vomit. Maniser (1930, p. 784) was impressed by the number of people whose heads, arms, or legs were swathed in *Philodendron* for therapeutic purposes. To lessen fatigue on a long walk, the Indians bandage their legs up to the hip with tight braids. (On *Caingang* medicine, see Paula Souza, 1918, pp. 750–753.)

Bloodletting, which is practiced with a flint flake or a piece of glass, is a common cure for many ailments. Like many Indians, the *Caingang* treat fever with cold baths. Breathing on the affected spot is a common means of assisting a suffering person. Wounds are sprinkled with pulverized jaborandy powder.

When illness is caused by the loss of the soul, the patient may recover if appropriate words are spoken to induce the soul to return. It is often promised food. If the shaman's diagnosis reveals that the disease has been brought about by invisible missiles shot by a spirit, the cure consists of extracting them with the mouth. This procedure, however, was observed only among the *Aweikoma-Caingang* of Santa Catarina.

Magic practices.—To drive clouds away, old women blow against the right hand and then wave it toward the clouds, spreading the fingers as if to disseminate their breath. When the *Aweikoma-Caingang* desire rain, they put their mouths to the water and blow. They take some in their hands and cry, as they throw it upward, "Look here! Do like this." (Henry, 1941, p. 94.) Ashes thrown into a river are expected to stop its rise.

Divining.—According to Lozano (1873, 1:427), *Guayaná* shamans drank maté in order to consult spirits. Answering questions put to them by their clients, the shamans always said, "The grass [maté] told me this or that." Among modern *Aweikoma*, a man may be requested to drink maté and to belch while he is asked questions. A strong belch is interpreted as "No" and a weak one as "Yes" (Henry, 1941, p. 88).

In order to know which animals will be killed and where they will be found, the *Aweikoma-Caingang* set fire to a heap of pine-wood charcoal. The size of the spark corresponds to an animal species and the place where it twinkles indicates where the game will be slain.

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

787 The *Caingang* of São Paulo believe that old women have the power of foretelling the future in dreams which they induce by taking the pulverized leaves of an unknown plant.

769 Cult of the dead.—This cult is "the foundation and strongest expression of the spiritual culture of the *Kaingang*" (Baldus, 1935, p. 52), as the whole community takes part in the ceremonies, and children are at this time assigned by their fathers or others to moiety subgroups.

The aim of veingréinyã, the main ritual, is to break the bonds uniting the living with the ghosts, who are driven to their last abode, where they remain harmless. It takes place when the maize is green and pine nuts are ripe, that is, sometime between the middle of April and June. It is organized by mourners for a parent, a sister, or a son, but never for a wife or a daughter; according to Manizer, the initiative is taken by a distant relative.

The green bough placed above the tomb announces the coming performance; the news of which is carried to nearby settlements by messengers appointed by the "master of the dance." One of the heralds blows a horn; another informs the gathered listeners of the date.

In the meantime, the organizer piles up wood and gathers honey and maize, kept in pots in a special place, for liquor. For 3 days before the festival, men dance around these containers, crying and singing funeral songs. The fermented beverages, poured into large troughs dug out of bottle-tree trunks, are heated by throwing red-hot potsherds into them. During the night before the feast, the organizer and his assistant go to the cemetery to cover the grave with earth.

In the morning, the trough is dragged to the plaza and food heaped around it. Men sing and beat the ground with a stamping tube.

On the day before veingréinyã, the visitors, blowing horns and bamboo flutes, arrive and are met by their hosts and treated to beer. The following afternoon, the members of the moiety subgroups, adorned with their distinctive facial paintings, are led separately to the cemetery by relatives of the deceased. At the head of each moiety are a singer and three dancers, as well as the close relatives. On the way, the singer with his subgroups stops by every tree at which the corpse bearers have rested en route and sings a song of meaningless syllables, shaking his rattle and kicking his feet back and forth. After this musical interlude, they resume marching, but the other moiety has to go through the same ceremony. When the first moiety reaches the cemetery, the same dance is performed over the grave, the singer standing over the head of the deceased. The remainder of the crowd remains outside the cemetery. Then the other moiety dances over the grave. When the ghost is thought to have been expelled, everyone shouts for joy and runs in all directions.

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

The moieties join, and the mixed sounds of "flutes and laughter and cries were heard all over the place." The singers and dancers receive liquor until completely drunk. Later the moieties dance in a double circle around bonfires lit on the plaza; finally, everyone drinks to his heart's content. 769

A few variant details are given by Manizer (1930, p. 787). The relatives of the dead, who remained in their huts with the head covered with blankets, are forced to drink beer until they lose consciousness. Those who have gone to the cemetery paint black strokes over their bodies. Soon after, many pairs of participants, standing face to face, cry out in turn, "xogn, xogn," while the spectators sing lugubrious melodies. Then everyone dances counter-clockwise around the fire, keeping time with his bamboo tube.

MYTHOLOGY

The mythology of the *Caingang* is known mainly through a few myths collected by Borba (1904) and summarized here: 773

Origin of agriculture.—The Indians suffered scarcity of food. A chief told them to cultivate a piece of land by fastening a creeper around his neck and trailing him on the ground. They did so, and 3 months later his penis produced maize, his testicles beans, and his head gourds.

Origin of fire.—Tejetó transformed himself into a white urraca (bird) and let himself be carried by a brook flowing by the house of the Master-of-fire, whose daughter picked up the bird and dried him by the fire. Tejetó stole an ember and was pursued, but hid in the crevice of a cliff. To strike him, the Master-of-fire thrust the end of his bow into the crevice. Tejetó made his nose bleed and smeared the bow with the blood. The Master-of-fire, convinced that he had killed the thief, went away. Tejetó kindled the dry branch of a palm. Since then men have had fire.

The deluge.—There was in olden times a great deluge. From the waters there emerged only the summit of the mountain Crinjijinbé, toward which the Kayurukré and the Kamé swam, with firebrands in their mouths. The Kayurukré and the Kamé were drowned, and their souls went to live in the center of the mountain. The *Caingang* and some *Curuton* or *Aré* arrived at the summit of Crinjijinbé. They remained there several days crouched in the branches of a tree or reposing on the ground.

The saracurás (a kind of bird) came with baskets full of dirt and began to fill the sea. They were aided in their work by the ducks.

The *Caingang* who were on the ground could leave, but those who had climbed into the trees were turned into monkeys, and the *Curuton* were changed into owls.

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

773 The *Caingang* established themselves in the vicinity of the Serra of Crinjijinbé. The Kayurukré and the Kamé left the mountain, the former by a smooth and level path, and the latter by a rugged trail, whence the small feet of the Kayurukré and large ones of the Kamé. Where the Kayurukré had been, a river gushed through the pass, but the place from which the Kamé emerged remained just as it was. That is why they continue to go to ask water of the Kayurukré.

The *Caingang* ordered the *Curuton* to seek the baskets they had left at the foot of the mountain; the latter did not want to go back. Ever since then, they have lived separated from the *Caingang*, who considered them fugitive slaves.

The creations of Kamé and Kayurukré.—Two brothers, Kamé and Kayurukré, after having left the mountain, created jaguars from ashes and coals; then the antas or tapirs from ashes only. The tapir, who had a small ear, heard that he was ordered to eat herbs and branches, when the Creators had told him to subsist on meat.

Kayurukré also made the great anteater, which he did not have time to finish, whence his toothless jaw and his tongue, which is only a little stick that Kayurukré in his haste put in his mouth.

Kayurukré made the useful animals, among them the bee; Kamé, the harmful creatures (pumas, serpents, wasps, etc.).

The brothers resolved to kill the jaguars. They made them get on a tree trunk thrown into a stream. Kamé was to push the trunk and make it drift away. Some jaguars clung to the bank and Kamé, frightened by their roaring, did not dare to push them into the water. It is on account of his faintheartedness that jaguars still exist.

The people of Kayurukré and those of Kamé intermarried. As the men were more numerous than the women, they allied themselves also with the *Caingang*. From that time on Kayurukré, Kamé, and *Caingang* considered themselves kinsmen and friends.

In olden times, the *Caingang* did not chant or dance. One day Kayurukré, going to hunt, saw some branches dancing at the foot of a tree. One branch was crowned with a gourd, which tinkled and marked the rhythm of a melody chanted by an invisible being.

Kayrukré's companions took the branches (stamping tubes), while he took the gourd (rattle). They danced with these instruments.

A few days later, Kayurukré met the great anteater, who stood erect on his paws and began to chant. His song was identical with the one that Kayurukré had heard the day he saw the sticks dancing. Thus he learned that the mysterious chanter was the great anteater. The anteater demanded of him his sticks and then danced. He predicted that his wife would bear him a boy.

The *Aweikoma-Caingang* of Santa Catarina tell only confused origin myths, but have stories of animals, among them how Humming-

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

bird hoarded water. Traditions of internecine feuds, however, loom most prominently in their lore (Henry, 1941, pp. 124–152; 1935, pp. 177 f., 211). 773

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